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Autographs

of

Saint Paul

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ΠΑΥΛΟΥ

Marcus D. Buell

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# THE AUTOGRAPHS OF SAINT PAUL

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BY

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Transferred

TO MY  
Two Thousand Boston Men  
PREACHING IN ALL THE WORLD  
THIS GOSPEL:—

Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν·  
ὃν ἡμεῖς καταγγέλλομεν  
νουθετοῦντες }  
διδάσκοντες } πάντα ἄνθρωπον  
ἵνα παραστήσωμεν }  
τέλειον ἐν Χριστῷ  
(Col. 1. 27, 28)





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## PREFACE

PAUL the tent-maker, working on Cilician canvas at night in Thessalonica, Corinth, or Ephesus, would show an individuality in his cutting and stitching, one may believe, quite distinct from that of Aquila or any other fellow workman. Just so when his hand held a pen, instead of a knife or a needle, his writing must have had a character all its own, as he himself frequently intimates. And even more distinctive, he makes us aware, is the molding touch of his inner life of thought, feeling, and purpose upon the content of his writing in vocabulary, sentence structure, and doctrinal accent and emphasis.

Multitudes of busy people, including those recently enrolled in Adult Bible Classes, just beginning to feel anew the fascination of God's varied

and unique revelation of himself in the life, thought, and career of individual human souls as portrayed in the divine Record, will find stimulus and suggestion in this little book, it is hoped, for a more intimate study of the rare and wonderful personality of Paul, who in a real sense lay quite as close to his Master's heart as did John the beloved disciple, and who, for that reason was divinely chosen to be the first to translate into the lucid and plastic forms of thought and feeling then current in the Greek and Roman world, God's final message to humanity, "spoken of old unto the fathers in the prophets, and at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son."

James O. Buell

## THE AUTOGRAPHS OF SAINT PAUL

“WHOSE is this image and superscription?”

This simple but luminous question, when put by Jesus, instantly conjured up in his hearers' minds, as they scrutinized the worn effigy and dim lettering on the paltry piece of silver he held in his hand, the august personality of Tiberius Cæsar and the vast and complex fabric of contemporary Roman life, law, and civilization.

Whose is the superscription of the thirteen earliest books of the New Testament? The answer is, “Paul’s.” Whose is the image—that is, the individual mind, heart, and will—one finds bodied forth in these documents superscribed with this name? What is the living network of contempora-

neous racial, national, and religious conditions, and what the unique personal history which superscription and the mental and spiritual image associated therewith presuppose? For every reader of these thirteen documents to whom their subject-matter is more precious and significant than any Roman coinage of silver and gold bearing the effigy of the emperor, these questions touching date and authorship, as a part of the reason for the hope that is in him, have more than an academic interest.

### PAUL THE FIRST NEW TESTAMENT CRITIC

Now it is an interesting fact too little noticed that Paul himself was the first one to turn attention to the purely critical questions that have to do with the date and authorship of his own epistles, which comprise one third of the whole New Testament. The critical question of authenticity

had, for the apostle's immediate readers, as it has for his latest, an important practical side. Very early, the discovery was made that his name was a good one to conjure with. Some one at Thessalonica, we know, took advantage of this fact when, soon after the apostle's first visit, excitement ran high among his converts on account of a rapidly spreading belief in Christ's immediate visible return to earth. Although Paul had repeatedly admonished them that no man could predict the day, certain extremists began boldly to declare that the actual hour had already struck. They based their startling announcement not only upon their own private interpretations and revelations (2 Thess. 2. 2), but also upon alleged written communications connected with the name of Paul or with that of one of his companions. Obviously, that was a situation demanding decisive action such as is disclosed in 2 Thess. 2. 15,

where Paul not only adjures his Thessalonian disciples to "stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye were taught, whether by word or *epistle* of ours," but repeatedly "commands" them (3. 4, 6, 10, 12) to pay strict heed to the instructions conveyed in his letters, in such words as these: "And if any man obeyeth not our word by this epistle, note that man" (3. 14). The question of Pauline authorship, therefore, whatever it may mean to others, had become a matter of grave concern to these first readers.

### PAUL'S SIGN-MANUAL

With the facts concerning Paul's epistolary habits in mind, let the language he uses here be carefully examined.

First. So far as we know, he never wrote an anonymous letter. Every one of the thirteen epistles begins with his name, thus: "Paul unto the



church of the Thessalonians" (1 Thess. 1. 1; 2 Thess. 1. 1).

Second. He cautions his readers that in every genuine letter of his the customary closing salutation will be found written in his own hand rather than in that of his amanuensis (Rom. 16. 22), and will thus serve as his personal signature. "The salutation of me Paul, in mine own hand, which is a SEMEION [sign-manual] in every epistle."

Third. He intimates that not only will this closing salutation, serving as a signature, appear in his own handwriting, but that the salutation itself will not be the stereotyped formula commonly employed for closing an ordinary letter, namely, the Greek "ERROSTHE!" ("Farewell"), but will take an original and personal form of Paul's own, namely, the Greek word "CHARIS!" ("Grace to you!"). "The salutation of me Paul in mine own hand: which is my sign-manual

in every epistle. Thus I [always] write: 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all!' "

In four other epistles Paul calls the attention of his readers in a similar way to his handwriting as a visible token of authorship, namely, Gal. 6. 11; 1 Cor. 16. 20; Philem. 19; Col. 4. 18.

### THE SALUTATION AS A SIGN-MANUAL

The custom of authenticating a letter by appending to it a salutation or sentiment of personal regard, instead of one's bare signature, and putting such a salutation in one's own handwriting, was universal in Paul's day. Thus there is a papyrus letter now in the Postal Museum at Berlin, written in the very year of this Second Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians, by an olive orchardist in Egypt, which ends as

does the apostle's, with a personal salutation in a different handwriting from that found in the body of the document. Indeed, we find Wilcken, the chief German authority on papyrus and ostraca documents, declaring that among both Greeks and Romans the distinguishing mark of a letter, as contrasted with other kinds of writing, was the fact that it bore not only the name of the writer, but also a formula of salutation in the writer's own hand (*Griechische Ostraka I Buch*, S. 82 Leipzig, 1899).

### PAUL'S NEW EPISTOLARY FORM

The salutation, "Grace to you!" can be as fully established as true, distinctive, and personal a voucher of Paul's individuality as any peculiar and personal trait of his handwriting. Thus in no fewer than seventy-five passages in his epistles the word "grace" is used as denoting the undeserved and forgiv-

ing love of God for repentant sinners whether Jews or Gentiles, who are personally united to Christ by faith; while neither in the Septuagint, the Greek apocryphal books, nor even in the synoptic Gospels does the word occur in the Pauline sense; and even in the Acts the author refrains from the use of this term in Paul's peculiar sense until he reaches the period and the realm of Paul's own proclamation of "the gospel of the grace of God." It is equally significant that in the same book the pillar apostles, even when addressing a circular letter to Paul's own Gentile churches in Syria and Cilicia (Acts 15. 23), avoid Paul's personal form of salutation, "CHARIS" ("Grace!") for the ordinary secular formula, "CHAIREIN" ("Greeting!") employed both by James in his epistle (1. 1) and Claudius Lysias, the military tribune, in his official report to Felix, the Roman governor (Acts 23. 26).

Paul's exclusive and recurrent use of the word "CHARIS" ("Grace") as a formula of salutation and mark of personal identity is not unlike the terse sentiment which the Black Prince coupled with his signature in a document which he signed in A. D. 1370: "*De par homont ich dene*" ("With high honor do I serve"). What more appropriate salutation, as sounding the innermost deeps of his life in Christ, and concentrating into one phrase the ruling passion of Paul's apostolic ministry, could have been devised?

### CAN WE APPLY PAUL'S TESTS?

Let us now consider the facilities of the first readers and of the modern reader respectively for applying these several tests for external and internal evidence.

It is obvious enough, then, that any church official holding in his hand a manuscript letter purporting to have

come from Paul's hand, could tell by merely glancing at the first line whether Paul's name was there; just as easily, in fact, as can any modern reader with his printed copy.

In the same way and with like facility, both the ancient reader of the original manuscript and the modern reader of the printed copy could determine whether the closing salutation took the conventional stereotyped form (such as "Yours truly" in English letters) or that of Paul's own formula of final greeting, "Grace to you!"

In applying the third, the handwriting test, the earliest readers of the manuscript letter would, of course, have manifest advantage over later readers, who would have no access like theirs to the original document itself, but only to copies of the same. Thus Paul's way of writing in such a document so small a Greek word as "CHARIS," would be as distinctive, one may believe, as his look, his

gesture, or his intonation when he pronounced the word in saluting a group of Christians. These same first readers would also have two other incidental tokens, which would not survive the process of copying and gathering the epistles into a collection for church use, namely, the address on the outside of the papyrus sheet and the day and date in the last line on the inside.

In applying the psychological test, "*Is the letter like Paul? Does it bear the marks of his spirit?*" not all the advantages can be said to be on the side of the ancient reader, even though he may have known Paul's living voice and have been personally conversant with his teaching. For one thing, none of the earliest readers would be acquainted, as is the modern reader, with an entire collection of Paul's epistles; nor could any of his immediate readers, save Timothy and Titus, have had any such lucid, con-

tinuous, and consistent a view of Paul's whole missionary work, as is presented to the modern reader in the Acts of the Apostles.

### LUKE AS PAUL'S FIDUS ACHATES

Now, it is to be borne in mind that the method of authenticating his epistles, which Paul indicated to his first readers, namely, the observation of their characteristic internal, as well as their external traits, is for his modern readers by no means an obsolete one. The book of Acts in those vivid glimpses of the great apostle, which were first caught by a keen-eyed traveling companion and co-laborer, beginning at the psychological moment when he first crossed into Europe of the Gentiles and only ending with those two years' ministry in the heart of the Roman world, furnishes an incomparable basis for comparing the portrait of the apostle drawn by a contemporary, with those



unconscious self-revelations made by Paul himself in his extant writings. One sees emerging from this phenomenal historical sketch of a long complex of providential events with ever-growing distinctness, the lineaments of a unique and powerful personality, none of whose words, sentiments, or acts are at variance with those which are everywhere disclosed in the epistles.

### A COMMON FOURFOLD EMPHASIS

The most careless perusal of the Acts cannot fail to show, first of all, that this historical writer has put the same extraordinary stress upon the initial and fundamental spiritual event in Paul's career, namely, the self-revelation of Jesus on the way to Damascus, which the apostle himself has everywhere employed in his correspondence. This careful writer Luke, who is never deficient in his sense of proportion, has made plain in his threefold repeti-

tion of the story of Paul's conversion—once in descriptive language of his own, and once and again in that of the apostle himself—what is his estimate of the transcendent importance of that crucial event, in a way quite in keeping with such strong expressions as those found in Paul's epistles.

### THE GENESIS OF PAUL'S GOSPEL

One understands, then, why both Luke and Paul make so much of the incident on the Damascus road. As the diamond-mine, when laid open to the light of day, discovers the place where mighty primordial forces of pressure and heat once transformed sooty carbon into flashing crystal; so there was to be found the hiding place of transcendent, transforming spiritual forces. There and then were evolved in the soul of Gamaliel's pupil four dominant religious passions, corresponding to four new psychological facts in his religious consciousness.

## 1. GRACE THROUGH CHRIST

What exceptional prominence Paul gives to grace in Christ, the first of these dominant religious passions, is seen in the fact already noted, that this idea is made the keynote with which every letter begins and ends. Nor is this all. Elaborate and passionate discussion of the necessary and fundamental contradiction between faith and works is made a conspicuous feature in such extensive sections as Rom. 3. 27 to 4. 25; Gal. 2. 16 to 4. 7; Phil. 3 1-16, where whole chapters are devoted to the elucidation and enforcement of the doctrine. Incidental allusions like those in Eph. 2. 9; Rom. 9. 11, 32; 11. 6; 2 Tim. 1. 9 abound, and show as unmistakably as does the recurrence more than seventy-five times, of the word "grace," whose heart-music is in this insistent refrain.

Who can fail to see how Luke's historic setting of the scene on the

Damascus road explains Paul's own emphasis upon that grace of God in Christ, which he makes the Alpha and Omega of every epistle; and how first in that fiery furnace of transforming religious experience, when as yet "a blasphemer and persecutor," he "beheld the glory of God in the face of" the crucified and risen Christ, the glory of God's grace to repentant sinners? (2 Cor. 4. 6.) And so it was that the "chief of sinners found mercy" (1 Tim. 1. 13-15) and in his own "body of death" (Rom. 7. 24) "where sin abounded, grace did much more abound" (Rom. 5. 20).

## 2. THE IMMANENCE OF CHRIST

Again there is no more distinctive feature of Paul's epistles than the remarkable emphasis and reiteration found in nearly all of them touching the doctrine of the believer's personal union with the risen Christ through his Spirit. Thus the preposition "in"

is employed, in the novel and unique sense of intimate relationship with a person, more than one hundred and fifty times. Deissmann (*Paulus*, S., 86) has noted that every one of the nineteen functions which Paul ascribes to the Holy Spirit in the life of the human soul, such as the inspiration of faith, righteousness, joy, peace, love, is referred in like manner by Paul to the risen Christ dwelling within. What more authentic autobiographic echoes, therefore, could one hear than in such phraseology as the following: "He that is joined unto the Lord is one Spirit" (1 Cor. 6. 17); "I have been crucified with Christ; and it is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. 2. 20); "I long after you all in the tender mercies of Christ Jesus"? See Phil. 1. 8; Gal. 4. 20; Phil. 2. 5; Rom. 9. 1; 2 Cor. 5. 14; Rom. 8. 35; 1 Cor. 9. 1.

The same emphasis upon the im-

manence of Christ reappears in the unique expression common to the Acts and Paul's epistles "the Spirit of Jesus." In Acts 16. 7 Luke says the "Spirit of Jesus" did not suffer Paul and his companions to go into Bithynia, just as in the previous verse he affirms that "the Holy Spirit" forbade them to speak the word in Asia. The same identification of the risen Christ with the viewless, omnipresent, manifold and gracious work of the Holy Spirit (so variously delineated in the Old Testament) is the keynote of the whole book, beginning with Peter's declaration at Pentecost: "This Jesus did God raise up, . . . and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he hath poured forth this, which ye see and hear" (Acts 2. 32, 33). As Paul in 2 Cor. 3. 18, when referring to the inner transformation of the soul united to Christ, does not distinguish Christ from the Spirit, but speaks of the Lord Jesus

and the Spirit as one, so Luke represents the risen Jesus as revealing himself and shaping the course of Paul, not only on the Damascus road, but at subsequent critical junctures in his whole career from Damascus to Rome (Acts 22. 21; 16. 7; 18. 9, 10; 19. 21; 20. 22; 23. 11; 27. 24).

### 3. FAITH IN CHRIST

The third religious passion awakened in the soul of Saul at his conversion, which sounds an autobiographic note one hears in all his correspondence, is the term "faith" employed in his own peculiar sense of the reaction of the individual soul in response to Christ's revelation of himself as Saviour and Lord (Gal. 1. 16). Indeed the salient features of the Damascus-road experience could be delineated, and not inadequately, in the incidental language of the epistles. Thus it is the epistles that tell us of an initial state of ignorance and unbelief (1 Tim. 1. 13) when the

god of this world had blinded his eyes (2 Cor. 4. 4), so that the cross, the token and proof of God's forgiving love, was a stumbling-block to him (1 Cor. 1. 23). They inform us that it pleased God to take away the scales of prejudice, the veil of unbelief upon his heart (2 Cor. 3. 16) and to reveal Christ in him (Gal. 1. 16), and by the renewal of his mind (Rom. 12. 2), endow him with new powers of spiritual vision, even the mind of Christ (1 Cor. 2. 16). Just as the ethereally sensitive antennæ of the wireless apparatus put the modern man in mysterious but immediate touch with a friend far off in the trackless wastes of the sea, so the faith alike of the Damascus road and of the epistles, is that spiritual faculty which makes Christ at home in Paul's heart (Eph. 3. 17), and Paul at home with Christ in the viewless heavenly places (Eph. 2. 6).

Here again the author of the Acts



shows in whose company he has been. The one thing needful for the blinded, bewildered Saul in the house of Ananias; for the Philippian jailer ready to perish by his own hand; for the barbarians of Lycaonia, sacrificing to false gods; for the Athenians, ignorantly worshiping an unknown god; for the publicans and harlots of Corinth, the proconsul Sergius Paulus, Felix and Drusilla, Festus, King Agrippa and Bernice was to enter the "door of faith which God had opened unto the Gentiles" (Acts 14. 27), the faith in "the Lord Jesus Christ by which they should be saved" (16. 31) and sanctified (26. 18); that faith by which "every one [Jew or Gentile] that believeth is justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses" (13. 39); that faith which not only "made the lame man strong" (3. 18), but the faith by which Christ reproduced in fullness of measure his own holy Spirit

of courage in the heart of Stephen (5. 5) and his own goodness in the soul of Barnabas (11. 24).

#### 4. APOSTLESHIP TO THE GENTILES

Of all the fervors bound up with the very heartstrings of Paul, the amazing mercy of the Christ of the Damascus road, in that he called him to be his apostle to the Gentiles, is by no means the least conspicuous characteristic of the epistles that go by his name. Paul fervently declares that he was "separated from his mother's womb and called through God's grace to receive the [personal] revelation of God's Son, that he might preach him among the Gentiles" (Gal. 1. 15, 16). Three times over in his letters he makes his apostolic call as distinctive and personal a matter of divine favor as the forgiveness of his sins. In ten of the epistles we find their author referring to himself as an apostle, in nine of them employing the

term as an official title; and in six ascribing his apostolic appointment to the call or will of God.

Multifarious and strong as is the apostle's increasing insistence upon his premundane divine appointment (Eph. 3. 1-13; Rom. 15. 15-18) as the apostle to the Gentiles, the stress which his companion Luke lays upon the same theme is not less notable. It is he who tells in historic terms more vivid and detailed than even Paul himself used in his epistles, of the providential election, preparation, phenomenal guidance, and supernatural protection of Paul as Christ's apostle to the Gentiles. It is in the Acts that one reads of the initial revelation to Ananias that the cruel persecutor was Christ's own "chosen vessel to bear my name before the Gentiles and Kings" (9. 15); of the two Jerusalem messages from Jesus, one in the temple—"I will send thee forth far hence unto the Gentiles";

and the other in the castle dungeon—"Be of good cheer: for as thou hast testified concerning me at Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome" (23. 11); and of the timely and cheering words heard in a stormy Mediterranean midnight: "Fear not, Paul; thou must stand before Cæsar" (27. 24).

"The things which happened" unto Paul on the road to Damascus, then, left the permanent "marks of the Lord Jesus" upon his individual soul, the tokens of which are seen in the fourfold doctrinal emphasis which is laid upon the grace of God in Christ, the immanence of Christ in the heart, the saving potency of faith in Christ, and Christ's call to apostleship, as well in all the Pauline epistles as in the contemporary history of the Acts.

#### A COMMON THREEFOLD EMPHASIS

Paul thinks of the ministry of Christ as having, according to individual en-

dowment, a threefold function: "First apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers" (1 Cor. 12. 28; compare Eph. 4. 11).

### 1. PAUL THE PROPHET

It cannot be denied that Paul, in his revelations of his inmost consciousness, as truly and earnestly classes himself with the prophets as he claims for himself a place among the apostles. He declares that it had pleased God to call him from his birth, just as he called Jeremiah to the prophetic office, that he also should be a "prophet of the nations" (Gal. 1. 15, 16). He knows a man in Christ who was caught up, whether in the body or out of the body, God only knows, and given visions and revelations of the Lord of exceeding great moment (2 Cor. 12); revelations which in other generations were not made known unto the sons of men, as they are now revealed unto Christ's holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit

(Eph. 3. 5). Great is the boldness of this apostle's prophetic speech. He "speaks as of God, in the sight of God," and by the "manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God" (2 Cor. 2. 17; 4. 2). Altogether sure of his authority, he dares write to the Galatians: "Though we, or an angel from heaven, should preach unto you any gospel other than that which we preached unto you, let him be anathema" (Gal. 1. 8).

Turning to the Acts, one observes that the apostle made the same impression upon his companion Luke, namely, as being one who spoke with prophetic insight and authority. His first public appearance in the synagogue of Damascus is in the role of one with inspired confidence "proclaiming Jesus, that he is the Son of God," as later in Jerusalem "preaching boldly in the name of the Lord" (Acts 9. 20, 29). At Antioch he is recognized by the Church

as one of the Christian "prophets and teachers" (Acts 13. 1). In Jerusalem, in Antioch of Pisidia, and in Bithynia he is forbidden by the Spirit to speak the word; and again at Corinth, "constrained by the word" and commanded by the Lord Jesus not "to be afraid, but to speak and hold not his peace" (Acts 22. 18; 16. 6, 8; 18. 5, 9), quite after the manner of the Old Testament prophets. Thus, in the Acts Paul's career closes as it begins—with a reference to his prophetic activity where he is last seen, "preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness" (Acts 28. 31). Obviously Luke would have his readers recognize in Paul the speech of one whose lips have been touched with the sacred fire of prophetic inspiration.

## 2. PAUL THE TEACHER

The Paul of the epistles claims for himself not only that he is an apostle

and a prophet, but also that he is a teacher. So he styled himself in his speech to the mob at the temple gate in Jerusalem, "Brought up in this city, at the feet of Gamaliel, instructed according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers" (Acts 22. 3). So he calls himself at the very end of his life, "A teacher of the Gentiles" (1 Tim. 2. 7). Accordingly, he reminds the Colossians that his is not only the prophetic function of "admonishing," but also that of "teaching" every man (Col. 1. 28), as he does the Romans also when he tells them that it was a specific "form of teaching whereunto ye were delivered" (Rom. 6. 17) when they received what he denominates "my gospel" (2. 16), and warns them against those whose influence is "contrary to the doctrine which ye learned" (Rom. 16. 17). Everywhere are disclosed the teacher's habits of thought and his characteristic turns of expression, as well as the versa-



tility, adaptability, and mental alertness of the born and trained master, accustomed to varieties of mental dullness, stubbornness, prejudice, and conceit. He that runs as he reads would say that no closet philosopher, and no philosophical writer like his contemporary Philo, ever wrote these epistles.

The Paul of the Acts also, like the Paul of the epistles, is nothing if not a teacher. Luke's insistence that Paul was divinely called, prepared and appointed "a teacher of the Gentiles," is quite as emphatic as that of the apostle (1 Tim. 2. 7), in his first account of Paul's conversion where he quotes the very significant words of Jesus in the vision of Ananias: "He is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles and kings" (Acts 9. 15). Again, he cites words of Paul's own, not found in any of his epistles, which remind his readers of his signally providential foreordination and training for his lifework. Thus one

is reminded of his birth as "a Pharisee of Pharisees" in Cilicia, the meeting place of East and West; of his birth-right as a "citizen" of Tarsus not only but also of the Roman empire, and of his residence in his most impressionable years at that seat of Greek and Jewish learning, and his resultant intimate acquaintance with the industrial, commercial, social, political, and religious life and ideals of the three civilizations—Jewish, Greek, and Roman—in such telling quotations from Paul's lips as his answer to the surprised query, "Dost thou know Greek?" in the words, "I am a Jew, of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city" (Acts 21. 37, 39), and his reply to the astonished question of the military tribune, Claudius Lysias, "Tell me, art thou a Roman?" in the calm response, "Yea . . . I am a Roman born" (Acts 22. 27, 28); and in utterances such as these: "These have beaten us . . . men that are Romans" (16. 37)

and "I am standing before Cæsar's judgment seat. . . . No man can give me up . . . I appeal unto Cæsar" (25. 10, 11). With his Hebrew soul, his Greek mind, and his Roman will, Paul was divinely endowed as no other disciple had been, to hold forth the gospel of Christ's cross before the whole world, as did the inscription over the head of the Crucified, "written in Hebrew and Greek and Latin."

### 3. PAUL THE ORGANIZING GENIUS

Finally, the Paul of the epistles betrays the peculiar gift of a born leader and commander of men. The organizing genius is one who knows his men not only as a mass but also as individuals. Such is the Paul of the epistles. His is "the harvest of a quiet eye." He sees clear through every one of the Jewish and Roman officials he encounters, whether of high degree or low; his Claudius Lysias, his Thessalonican politarchs, his strut-

ting, petty Philippian magistrates, his friendly Asiarchs and town-clerk of Ephesus, his proconsuls Sergius Claudius and Gallio, his Palestinian overlords: Felix, the rapacious and cunning "fox," and Festus, the weak-kneed; his kind-hearted centurion, Julius of the Augustan cohort, and his bronzed ship-captain of the Alexandrian corn-fleet. Even better than any or all of these, of course, Paul knows his own lieutenants, and every man and woman of his rank and file on whom he has ever set eyes. One finds their names by the score in his letters; twenty-eight of them at the end of the Romans, not counting allusions to associated groups, where greetings to household slaves are found side by side with salutations to their well-to-do high-born masters, such as Aristobulus, Narcissus, Chloe, and Philemon. One sees in Paul, therefore, the Napoleonic gift of touching and energizing the living individual unit.

And Paul exhibits the higher gift, as did Alexander, Julius Cæsar, and Augustus, of coördination, combination, and organization. There is no Pauline epistle without personal messages to individuals or exhortations to the whole body, which remind one of the drill-master molding the individual in the camp, and the general on the field, seeking to kindle with burning words the contagion of enthusiasm and courage in the whole body of troops. His very metaphors, based as they are on the division of labor and the coördination of living units in the organization of an army or of a great system of civil service; on the master builder's selection and cunning adaptation of diverse materials to a structural plan; and his wonderful simile of the human body, with its unity of life and diversity of function (borrowed from some Stoic teacher at Tarsus perhaps) all show how deeply he had meditated upon the necessity and diffi-

culty, as well as the possibility, of knitting together in the love of Christ the mutually repellent individuals of a household, a neighborhood, a church, or a group of churches of differing races and nationalities, "till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (Eph. 4. 13).

This organizing genius of Paul, the apostle, prophet, and teacher, is as conspicuous a feature of his portrait as drawn in the book of the Acts as it is in the epistles. At the very beginning, before his conversion, he comes on the scene with a matured and comprehensive scheme for corporate, nation-wide action in a carefully planned campaign of inquisition and doctrinal purification, covering not only Judæa but the Diaspora as well. Already, therefore, he is brought before the reader's mind as one who

thinks not merely in terms of the local synagogue and Gamaliel's school, but in terms of the whole Roman empire. The very ground-plan of the book of the Acts, indeed, is intended to show how Christ's own imperial design of giving his gospel to the entire Roman world, first foreshadowed at Pentecost in the gift of his Spirit to representatives from every quarter of the vast Roman domain and inaugurated by Peter and others, necessarily contemplated the emergence in due time of Christ's own "chosen vessel to bear his name before" the Gentile world and its rulers. Accordingly, one is not surprised to be told by Luke that Barnabas's narrower scheme for evangelizing the synagogues of his native island, when once under Paul's preaching so influential a Gentile as the Roman proconsul has been won to the faith, gives place to Paul's bolder program for carrying the gospel to the vaster region of the mainland

to the northward. Thence onward one follows with breathless interest Luke's absorbing story of Paul's developing and commanding apostolic strategy (too bold in its conceptions for Barnabas and Mark, as it was at first for Peter, James, and John), a strategy which, clearly discerning the comprehensiveness of Christ's gospel as divinely intended for the whole world, and vindicating with masterly argument and convincing demonstration its adaptation to the Gentiles, plants the cross of Christ in the metropolitan centers of the four great Eastern provinces of the Roman empire, one after another: Galatia, Macedonia, Achaia, and Asia.

#### SALIENT PSYCHOLOGICAL TRAITS COMPARED

One other class of psychological tokens, which reveal personal identity quite as distinctly as those thus far considered, are those salient idiosyncra-



sies of mind, heart, and will which are found in the biographical data respectively of Paul's letters and of the Acts.

### 1. THE MIND OF PAUL

The Pauline intellect, as disclosed in the epistles, is the morning star of the New Testament firmament. No other harbinger of the Light of the world has caught so much of his own dazzling intellectual brightness. Who of the apostles as fully understood Jesus of Nazareth? Who so thoroughly grasped the principles of his teaching in their symmetry and their adaptation to the most varied and complex relationships of Gentile and Jewish life? What apostle had so vivid an acquaintance with Christ's doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, as he whose heart grows warm in every reference to "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," and in every allusion to his fellow man, whether "Greek or Jew, circumcision

or uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, or freeman"? (Col. 3. 11.) Who but he ever gave so lucid, compact, and comprehensive an exposition of the Sermon on the Mount as is to be found in 1 Cor. 13? Who saw as clearly the bearing of his Master's anti-Pharisaic teaching, namely, that it is not one's diet but one's moral nature that is the source of evil, as did he who wrote the seventh chapter of Romans? Who fathomed Christ's filial and redemptive consciousness so sympathetically as the discerning spirit who speaks in Romans and Galatians and Philippians? Where shall one look for such insight into the august and infinite majesty, holiness, and mercy of God as in Ephesians, Colossians, and Romans 9 to 11? It is only in the Christology of John's prologue and the opening chapter of Hebrews that the depth and sublimity of the Christology of the epistles is approached; and in these latter there are

not wanting transcendent vistas and visions of Christ's unique glory quite peculiar to the Paul of the epistles.

If it be asked whether Luke's Paul, as seen in the Acts, was a person of such phenomenal intellectual powers, one needs only to sit down with him in the synagogue at Antioch of Pisidia, or on the stairs of the Tower of Antonia in Jerusalem, or on the curbstone among the barbarians at Lystra, or on one of the benches of the Areopagus at Athens, and ponder meanwhile the breadth, the depth, and the cogency of the arguments employed, and note the effects that follow, to be convinced that the author of the Acts knew no equal of Paul in the quality and range of his mental powers.

## 2. THE HEART OF PAUL

The hidden man of the heart enshrined in these thirteen letters shows a face such as his Master's was, in moments when men saw his eyes blazing

with anger, and his lips quivering with sympathy (Mark 3. 5). Ever and anon the tone and the vocabulary of the epistles are those of vigorous combat. To this letter-writer life is a race with swift and dangerous competitors; a stand-up fight with hard-hitters (1 Cor. 9. 26); a personal encounter with "messengers of Satan" advancing as "angels of light" (2 Cor. 11. 14). His normal condition is "fightings without," after the manner of men with human "beasts at Ephesus" and elsewhere (2 Cor. 7. 5; 1 Cor. 15. 32), for, though there is always an "open door," there are "many adversaries" (1 Cor. 16. 9). And life is a "good fight" to be entered, endured, and waged with zest. Nor does the writer ever betray any penury of expression when addressing those whom he deems to be enemies of the truth. One reads of "false brethren" (Gal. 2. 4), of "false apostles, deceitful workers, fashioning themselves

like Satan into angels of light" (2 Cor. 11. 13, 14); of "dogs, evil workers and the concision" (Phil. 3. 2), as to whom the bitter wish is uttered that they would be as consistent as were the heathen priests of Cybele, who in their fanatical zeal mutilated their bodies (Gal. 5. 12), and of "enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is perdition, whose god is the belly, and whose glory is in their shame" (Phil. 3. 18, 19). Verily, here was a temperament showing fierce and prompt reactions against the enemies of God and his righteousness. For "the man or the angel from heaven" who should "preach any other gospel" or "any other Jesus" than he had preached in Galatia and Corinth, and for any man in Ephesus who did not regard the Lord Jesus with warm human love (note the Greek word in 1 Cor. 16. 22), the writer to each of these groups promptly awards, as does the "Shiggaion of David" (Psa. 7), "mischief,

violence," and "anathema" "upon his pate" (Gal. 1. 8; 2 Cor. 2. 4).

The author of the Acts, however disposed in his revision of gospel material, to minify the faults of the original apostles, leaves no reader unaware of this prominent trait of the Gentile apostle, whom he first introduces as "breathing out threatening and slaughter" (Acts 9. 1). Later quotations from Paul's own lips keep this idiosyncrasy of his temperament in mind. One hears his indignant outburst, as he fastens his eyes on Elymas, the sorcerer: "O full of all guile and villany, thou son of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness!" (Acts 13. 10.) Again, when Ananias, the high priest, in response to Paul's claim to an honest conscience, commands him to be smitten on the mouth, the quick rejoinder: "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall!" leaves no one in doubt as to one temperamental trait of the speaker. So it is

in Luke's report of Paul's defense before Agrippa, where Paul himself alludes to this same personal trait of his in no ambiguous terms: "And punishing them oftentimes in all the synagogues, I strove to make them blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto foreign cities" (Acts 27. 11).

Equally distinct are the disclosures which the epistles make of the gentler side of their author's temperament, corresponding to its sterner qualities. Thus he writes his converts that both "night and day he prays exceedingly that he may see their face" (1 Thess. 3. 10). He calls God to witness how he longs after them "all in the tender mercies of Christ Jesus" (Phil. 1. 8), whose "love constraineth" him (2 Cor. 5. 14) to "have them in his heart" (Phil. 1. 7), "to die together and live together" (2 Cor. 7. 3); to remember them "in every supplication" (Phil. 1. 4); to

inspire in him the "gentleness" of a mother "nursing her own children" (1 Thess. 2. 7), as well as the mother's anxiety for their spiritual welfare, as poignant as her own birth-pangs (Gal. 4. 19) and the unselfish devotion of a father to his own children (1 Thess. 2. 11; 1 Cor. 4. 15), separation from whom is "bereavement" (1 Thess. 2. 17), bad news from whom is death (2 Cor. 1. 9) as good news is life (1 Thess. 3. 8).

Does Luke know anything of his great companion's warmth of heart? Yea, verily! But for him, one remembers, we should not have known how Barnabas, the first of all other apostles to find in Saul that new tenderness of soul wrought by his vision of Christ, had joyously brought him to his fellow apostles, who, as yet, were aware of nothing but his sanguinary zeal; or how a swift and arrowy word of personal solicitude, "Do thyself no harm!" in return for brutal treatment,



had won the Philippian jailer to Christ; and how Paul became the ministering angel to two hundred and seventy-six despairing souls on the doomed Alexandrian freighter. If a man's having friends proves that he has shown himself friendly, then it must have been the kindly demeanor of Paul which mollified the native military harshness and rigor of Julius the Roman centurion, who "treated Paul kindly, and gave him leave to go to his friends and refresh himself" (Acts 27. 3), and who afterward, when the vessel foundered, disregarded the soldiers' counsel that Paul and all the rest of the prisoners should be put to the sword, lest they should escape (Acts 27. 42). And one likes also to think that Julius had something to do with Paul's obtaining, on his arrival in Rome, special permission to abide those "two whole years in his own hired dwelling" (Acts 28. 30). Does Luke ever forget in any place to

exalt his great friend while hiding himself (as John also does in the Fourth Gospel), by the use of the more modest pronoun "we"? As the latter disciple counted the love of his divine Master the perennial miracle of grace, so the author of the Acts must have gloried to the very end of his life in the fact that his human master, Paul, called him his "*beloved*" physician (Col. 4. 14). One is glad to note also how Luke has rescued out of a sore controversy, much of which he feels constrained to pass by in silence, the same precious adjective, "*beloved*" as the one which the twelve in an official document applied to Paul (Acts 15. 25). Who fails to identify the human source of the glow reflected in Luke's face whenever he refers to Paul?

### 3. THE MASTERFUL WILL OF PAUL

No other temperamental trait is more in evidence in the thirteen epistles than that of a personal will of

superb driving power. A glance at the Greek concordance will show that he uses that word for "power," from which our English words "dynamo" and "dynamite" are derived, four times as often as any other New Testament writer. A similar instinctive fondness for other words suggestive of force, moving under the sway of conscious intelligence, is equally noticeable. Thus the word from which our English term "energy" is derived, occurs no less than twenty-five times in these epistles, while it is used once by each of three other writers. An especial favorite in the epistles is the verb "will," while in Eph. 1. 19 all four of the most expressive Greek words for efficient force are called into requisition, and even these are reënforced by a strong superlative: "the exceeding greatness of his *power* to us who, believe, according to that *working* of the *strength* of his *might* which he wrought in Christ." *Ex pede Her-*

*culem*. Intuitively in dealing with the issues of the spiritual life the author of these epistles adopts the idioms of the toiling and the strong-willed: the field laborer (1 Thess. 2. 9), the Grecian athlete (1 Cor. 9. 24), and the soldier (1 Cor. 9. 7). It is nothing less than an imperial campaign which appeals to the ambition of the writer, who, when he has "fully preached the gospel from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum" (Rom. 15. 19), "must also see Rome" (Acts 19. 21). But Rome, on which his heart has been set "these many years," is by no means the ultimate goal, but only a station on his way to the pillars of Hercules (Rom. 15. 24).

The iron hardness of will which this good soldier of Jesus Christ uniformly manifests in all the epistles is by no means passed unnoticed in the Acts of the Apostles. One finds Luke quoting Paul's favorite metaphor, which more than any other would

suggest to Greek readers the familiar but inspiring figure of a racer, with concentrated gaze and muscles tense, struggling with dogged and exhaustless resolution toward a distant goal. So Luke notes how Paul spoke of John the Baptist as on the last lap of his race (Acts 13. 25), and lets us hear him tell the Ephesian elders that his mind was set on "finishing the run" (see the Greek) which the Lord Jesus had entered him for, just as we note how, at the end of it all, he tells Timothy, his Greek comrade, that he had at last "finished his run" (2 Tim. 4. 6). Indeed, this Pauline figure of steady progress, under the inspiration of a great ideal and in the face of desperate odds, may be said to have shaped Luke's whole account (from Acts 9 onward) of Paul's heroic advance. Thus, while the epistles only incidentally name the chief stations of the triumphant journey "from Jerusalem, and round about

even unto Illyricum” (Rom. 15. 19), Luke fills in the intervening spaces with graphic and detailed accounts of the way in which this born “kicker” against goads (Acts 26. 14), this strong “wrestler” (Eph. 6. 12), this doughty “boxer” (1 Cor. 9. 26), this hard “fighter with beasts” (1 Cor. 15. 32)—as we hear (and as Luke himself may well have heard), the author of these epistles calling himself—met and overcame one after another such an endless variety of obstacles, personal and impersonal, as no returning Ulysses of those Eastern Mediterranean coasts could recount; from that midnight hour on the Damascus wall, when he was let down in a basket (Acts 9. 25), to that noonday some twenty years later, when he passed through the open gate in the wall of Rome, “an ambassador in chains” (Eph. 6. 20) indeed, but taking courage and thanking God (Acts 28. 15), “who always leadeth us in triumph in Christ, and

maketh manifest through us the savor of his knowledge in every place" (2 Cor. 2. 14). One notes too that Luke tells, in his own independent way, of "the secret," as Paul calls it, of his unconquerable energy of will, namely, that again and again at critical points of the apostle's progress he was strengthened from within (Phil. 4. 12) by timely words of cheer and encouragement from the risen Lord Jesus.

### THE AUTOGRAPH PORTRAIT

The distinctive traits of personal identity disclosed in the thirteen epistles which go by the name of Paul the apostle have now been shown to be such as the following: a peculiar emphasis upon the Christian doctrines of grace, faith, personal union with Christ and his own apostolic call; the consuming religious passion of a prophet, a teacher, and an organizer; an intellect of rare penetration, dis-

crimination, and range; and, befitting both, a moral will of exceptional vitality. As a portrait painter, therefore, observing the salient and distinctive lines and contours of light and shade, and the gradations of color in an individual living human face, and reproducing these separate and varied elements upon his canvas, one by one, in a complete and consistent whole, finds he has fixed there that subtle but unmistakable attribute of the invisible spirit which we call individuality, so that even the unlearned and ignorant, looking at his handiwork, say with one accord, "It is he!" even so, the altogether exceptional, distinctive, but mutually harmonious traits which lurk here and there in unstudied variety on well-nigh every page of these wonderful letters, leave in the average mind no suggestion of a blurred and tenuous figment of the imagination, like an idealized and artificial character in a



novel or a play, but the sharp and deep impress of a living, breathing, thinking, feeling person of flesh and blood. The impression of historic and objective truth is immeasurably strengthened, moreover, as has been shown, when one finds in the pages of a contemporary writer like Luke wholly independent but equally unstudied and undesigned allusions to identical traits of character, in like harmonious combination, and that, moreover, in a person whose words and deeds are seen to be part and parcel of whole series of progressive historical actions, of many of which the epistles give no intimation.

It is as if one had on his wall, side by side, two portraits of the great Rembrandt—one of them being one of the dozen or more likenesses which were made by the artist himself, from time to time; and the other ones painted by a contemporary, representing the shapely and noble head not only, but showing in the background the canals

of Amsterdam, with sky, atmosphere, and architecture; with moving figures of boats, domestic animals, men, women, and children; and with every costume and shape true in all details to the period and the place. Even so, the portrait head looking forth from the epistles agrees with the full-length landscape figure of the Acts.

“As face answereth to face in water,” so does the Paul of the epistles to the Paul of Luke.

### THE DATE OF THE EPISTLES

The epistles of Paul are in their form and contents widely different from mere subjective and abstract meditations written down by a recluse, living apart from men. Like all real letters from man to man, every one of them bore in its original autographic form, the name of their author and that of the person or persons addressed, besides a particular day and date. Every one deals not only with

“fears within,” but also with very critical and altogether unique “fightings without.” In fact, they reflect situations so varied, peculiar, and complex in local color and circumstantial detail as to lend little aid or comfort to theories of fictitious or pseudepigraphic invention, or of opportunist interpolation. Thus the little Epistle to Philemon in its incidental naming of no less than ten persons, some of them in the circle of the reader and others in that of the writer; in its allusion to circumstances and events in the life of his correspondent, his wife, his son, his household slave Onesimus, as well as in vivid glimpses of the author’s situation for the time being as a prisoner in Rome; and especially in its wonderfully delicate and discriminating personal appeals and suggestions to Philemon and the members of his household, may serve as a typical example of the intricate but natural way in which every one of

these epistles is interlaced with a contemporary local situation, quite beyond the skill of any pious romancer, conjured up by the exigencies of academic theory.

So general is this fact admitted as respects the historical warp and woof of real events, which these epistles not only presuppose, but which are actually confirmed by contemporary New Testament literature, that there is no need here for any detailed discussion. It is but uttering a commonplace to say that the external conditions of time and place, and the characteristic features of ethnic, national, municipal, social, and religious life incidentally mentioned in the Epistles to the Galatians, the Thessalonians, the Corinthians, the Romans, the Colossians, the Philippians and Philemon answer with substantial consistency and reasonable completeness to the vicissitudes and successive stages of Paul's missionary career, as described or suggested in his

letters; as they also correspond to the graphic and circumstantial outline of that same career sketched in the second part of the Acts. Particularly striking is the agreement disclosed in many obviously undesigned coincidences, as Paley long ago pointed out. Thus, for example, the spirited defense of his apostolic authority in Galatians fits no situation so well as that critical juncture described in Acts 15. Just so the excitement concerning Christ's second coming, and the attacks upon the motives of Paul and his colaborers in First and Second Thessalonians, find their natural explanation in the unique circumstances depicted in Acts 17. In like manner the local controversies, party divisions and insinuations against Paul, which are discussed in First and Second Corinthians, are not inconstant with the turbulent conditions suggested in Acts 18; just as the markedly different features of the false doctrinal teaching com-

bated in Colossians are such as one would expect from the heated and unstable religious atmosphere of the Asia of Acts 19. 20. Similarly, the Epistle to the Romans is exactly such a retrospective and summarizing statement of Paul's apostolic teaching to the end of A. D. 55, as the recapitulating topographical and historical notice in Acts 19. 21 calls for. So also in Philippians the reminiscences of persistent generosity, the references to differences between two female leaders, and the pointed allusions to the present phase of his trial before the imperial court, answer to no other church so well as to that whose traits appear in Acts 16, and to no other period so naturally as to the two years mentioned in Acts 28.

### THE TWO EPISTOLARY GROUPS

In all ages of the Church the distinctive religious, spiritual, and mental idiosyncrasies of the thirteen epistles

which go by Paul's name and countersign, have satisfied the uncritical reader, eager most of all as he is, for that "scripture which is profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness" (2 Tim. 3. 16), that every one of them came in its present form from the hand of the apostle whose name they bear, and that each of them was intended for the person or group of persons to whom they are severally addressed. It was not until the middle of the second century, when Marcion omitted from his Scripture manual for the use of his churches the pastorals (First and Second Timothy and Titus), that any discrimination or preference was expressed; and it was not until about the same time that Pantænus suggested that Hebrews was an epistle of Paul's, accounting for the omission of the apostle's name from the document on the novel but very dubious ground that since Christ, and not

Paul, was the real apostle to the Hebrews, the Gentile apostle had not ventured to connect his name with this epistle, as he does with his epistles to the Gentiles. As for Marcion's preference for the ten earlier epistles of Paul, that fact cannot be reckoned as expressing doubt on his part touching the Pauline authorship of the three pastorals, any more than his exclusion from his manual of every one of the books of the Old Testament and every one of the New Testament, except the first ten Paulines and a mutilated copy of Luke's Gospel, can be ascribed to doubts as to the authorship of those other fifty-five biblical books. We know very well from his contemporaries that his reason for his wholesale omissions in the latter case was subjective and doctrinal rather than historical and critical. It is probable, therefore, that it was no question of authorship, but such stress as that in 2 Tim. 3. 16 on the value



of the Old Testament for doctrine, such strictures as those in 1 Tim. 4. 3 upon ascetic teaching, and such denials as that in 1 Tim. 2. 5 of all other mediation between God and man save that of Christ, had much to do with Marcion's omission of the Pastoral Epistles from his collection of profitable biblical writings. Marcion was, indeed, the pioneer of all Bible societies that print and circulate "parts" and "portions" of the Scriptures. The fact that Eusebius, about A. D. 325, declares that the pastorals are among the New Testament books "accepted by all" is in keeping with similar statements and specific citations reaching back through Tertullian (200), Clement of Alexandria (193), the Muratorian Canon (190), Irenæus (180), to Polycarp (110), and Ignatius (110).

Marcion's division of the Pauline epistles into two groups (made unwittingly perhaps), namely, the ten earlier, whose historic origin, motive,

purpose, content, local atmosphere, and background are so variously illuminated and confirmed by the contemporary narrative material of the Acts; and the three latest, the Pastoral Epistles, for which neither the Acts nor any other New Testament book furnishes such corroborative material, seems to have attracted little attention from his remote era almost to our own day. It may be said that the beginnings of such a formal division were first made by F. C. Baur in 1835. In his case, as in that of Marcion, it was a subjective prepossession which gave motive and zest to his investigations and deductions. Applying to the Pauline writings as a whole the Hegelian philosophical formula concerning the three alleged necessary stages of all historical processes, namely, thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, he found himself constrained to deny Pauline authorship not only to the Pastoral Epistles but also to all

but four of the other ten. In a surprisingly short time, however, with a kind of poetic justice, his own axiom of antithetic reaction began to assert itself in his own academic household, until in our own day the great majority of his school admit and defend the Pauline authorship of Marcion's ten epistles, with lingering exceptions here and there as to Ephesians and Second Thessalonians.

#### THE EPISTLES TO TIMOTHY AND TITUS

Now, while it may be affirmed that the authenticity of the ten earlier epistles has been removed from the realm of debate by the exhaustive investigations and discussions of the last seventy-five years, it must be acknowledged that, in the absence of such illuminating and confirmatory independent historical data as those afforded by the Acts, the critical and historical argument for the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles can by

no means be brought so near a demonstration. The difficulties that beset the purely critical and historical argument are fivefold: historical, psychological, chronological, ecclesiastical, and linguistic.

### 1. HISTORICAL DIFFICULTIES

No place can be found either in the narrative of the Acts or in the historical framework of the other epistles for such references to persons, places, and things as those to Timothy and Ephesus in 1 Tim. 1. 3; to Trophimus and Miletus, and to Erastus and Corinth in 2 Tim. 4. 20; to Tychicus and Ephesus in 2 Tim. 4. 12; to Titus and Crete in Titus 1. 5, and Nicopolis in 3. 12, and to Apollos in 3. 13; and to a cloak, books, and parchments left by Paul at Troas, in 2 Tim. 4. 13. The conclusion is inevitable, therefore, that if Paul wrote the Pastoral Epistles, he must have been released at the end of the two years' imprisonment

at Rome referred to in Acts 28. 30, and must have thereafter made new visits to the shores of the Ægean, of which no notice is to be found outside those same epistles. The attempt to vindicate the authenticity of the pastorals on independent historical grounds must therefore give place to considerations of no greater cogency than a balance of probabilities on one side and the argument from silence on the other.

WHAT "SEALED THE LIPS OF  
THAT EVANGELIST"?

Was Paul released from custody at the end of his first Roman imprisonment for an eastward journey, according to his own confident expectation, as voiced in Phil. 1. 25f.; 2. 24; Philem. 22; or was he executed? The writer of Acts 28. 30 probably knew. Why, then, did he not say what happened at the end of the two years? One can only guess at his reason for silence.

If the theme of his second "treatise" (Acts 1. 1) was the extension of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome (Acts 1. 8), then the phenomenal "two whole years' preaching and teaching" in Rome would certainly form a fitting climax to his narrative. Nor can it be said that such a climax would require that the fact of his subsequent death should be mentioned. It was the living Paul who brought the Gentile gospel to the Capitol. Every reader would know what became of Paul, whether released or executed, but not every reader would discover, without such a reminder as that in Acts 28. 30, 31, that Paul's last two years in Rome gave ideal completeness to his whole apostolic ministry in the eastern provinces of the empire. Again, it may be urged that the apologetic purpose as respects Roman public opinion, which is obvious enough in the Acts as a whole, would certainly suggest the omission, especially at

the end of the treatise, of any reference to the awkward and stubborn fact (if such was the fact) that Paul, "the ringleader of the sect called the Nazarenes," had been condemned to death by the Roman court of last resort. Especially after the persecutions which began under Nero, one can understand how any mention of this final reversal of the Roman policy toward Gentile Christians in the case of their great leader might be thought to annul the force of the whole apologetic argument. Once more, it has been often suggested that, granting Paul was acquitted and made journeys to Spain and the East, Luke may have reserved for a third "treatise" some account of the progress of the gospel westward. But may not Paul's progress into Spain, even if it ever took place, have proven, as did his work in Athens, less opulent in such results as would furnish adequate materials for a suitable sequel to so

stirring a history as that of the Acts? In more than one case besides that in which he alludes to Paul's meager success at Athens, the author knows how to maintain a judicious reticence concerning the stony ground of indifference, or the thorns of controversial spirit which caused the good seed to yield little or no fruit. Nor would Luke, who throughout the Acts gives so exclusive attention to the breaking of new ground, and makes only bare mention of Paul's return pastoral visits to Galatia, Macedonia, and Achaia, be likely to find promising material for a new chapter to be added to that completed dramatic history which culminated in the apostle's Roman ministry, in those details of organization, administration, and personal instruction, which form the bulk of the Pastoral Epistles. The dominant note of the pastorals, it may be confidently declared, is in keeping with the historical situation



presupposed by them. No such prospect of new undertakings as those referred to in the epistles of the first imprisonment appears, no such requests for prayer that the writer may show courage in preaching the Word; but a turning almost exclusively to the activities of others who are henceforth to be his successors, and whose first business it will be to train, gather, and consolidate the scattered and undisciplined forces called into being by the earliest missionary labors. If the roseate dream of "fully preaching the gospel from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum" not only, but from Rome round about to the Pillars of Hercules had failed of any adequate realization, and "Paul the aged, and prisoner also of Christ Jesus," saw at last that a task far too great even for himself, must be committed to other "faithful men," then the diminishing vigor, the spirit of resignation, the reminiscent tone of the pastorals is quite consistent

with one's conceptions of the last stages of Pauline biography.

The Pastoral Epistles yield far too few data for the construction of such a supplementary and final chapter in the life of Paul as would command the assent of all scholars. Allusions to new local situations, new events, fresh developments in social and religious life, the activities of persons wholly unknown to us, as well as new developments in the character and life of some whose names are known to us, however transparent to the recipient of these letters, must in the nature of the case remain obscure in many particulars to all others. But if such obscurity occurs in Paul's earliest letters, in spite of all the sidelights which the Acts afford, why should the same obscurity be thought surprising in the pastorals, for which there is no contemporary sidelight? Examples abound. Who knows, for instance, whether Paul visited Corinth

in the interval between First Corinthians and Second Corinthians? Who can name even one of the five synagogues in which Paul, as he informs us, received forty stripes save one? Who can tell us in what other two provincial courts besides Philippi, he was beaten with the rods of Roman lictors? (2 Cor. 11. 24, 25). Who will give day, date, and site on the Mediterranean coast of any one of the three shipwrecks to which he alludes? With only the Epistle of Romans in his hands, who would feel any surer that either Paul's projected journey to Jerusalem or the subsequent formidable voyage to Rome was ever realized, than that the proposed extension of his itinerary into Spain ever took place? Who would suspect, if he had, say only the three Greek words of Phil. 1. 12 (translated "the things which have happened unto me"), that they covered in the readers' minds such a whole series of stirring events as those which

befell him on that very real journey to Jerusalem—his arrest there, his two years' imprisonment in Cæsarea, and his memorable voyage Romeward? The assumption is reasonable, therefore, that allusions to persons, places, and events found in the pastorals, as well as in the other Pauline epistles, however dark they may be to us, may have been transparent and significant enough to the recipients. If some Luke had only seen fit to narrate the events of that final chapter in Paul's life, following his first Roman imprisonment, it may fairly be surmised that as many missing links in the chain of events would be forthcoming and as much light would be cast upon allusions and phraseology now otherwise difficult and incomprehensible, as is the case with the mutual illumination one finds between the Acts and the Epistles.

## 2. PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES

That Paul should put so much emphasis upon his claims to apostleship in personal letters to such intimate associates and trusted lieutenants as Timothy and Titus, and that he should exhort them touching matters of their individual conduct, has been deemed anomalous. But it is altogether possible to hold, when one remembers the bitterness and violence with which Paul's apostolic claims were assailed from first to last, that he had reason to fear that even such devoted and loyal associates as were these two, would have difficulty in maintaining the thesis on which he himself had always based his gospel to the Gentile world, namely, that God had revealed that gospel to his apostle through the risen Christ. Nor can it be thought surprising if Paul, who had a whole-some fear that he himself after preaching to others, might be found a

castaway (1 Cor. 9. 27), deemed it "safe" and not "irksome" (Phil. 3. 1), in view of infirmities of character disclosed in the stress of actual service, to utter plain warnings and exhortations to those leaders to whom he was committing so weighty a trust.

### 3. ANACHRONISMS

The attempt has been made to discover in the reference to "gnosis [knowledge] falsely so called" in 1 Tim. 6. 20, and to the "different doctrine" consisting in "fables and endless genealogies" in 1 Tim. 1. 4, the hand of a second-century writer, attempting to controvert, in Paul's name, the gnosticism of Marcion or some later and more developed form of the same protean heresy. It is not difficult, however, to show, as Hort has done in his *Judaistic Christianity*, that the language is as fully appropriate to Jewish as to Greek ascetic doctrines, and to the allegorical interpretations

of biblical genealogies already current in Paul's day.

#### 4. ECCLESIASTICAL ANOMALIES

Titus is told (1. 5) to appoint elders in every city. The moral, mental, and social qualifications of bishops (who are also called elders) and of deacons are set forth in First Timothy and Titus. It has been claimed that here is unwittingly betrayed the notion of a monarchical episcopacy broached by Ignatius in the early second century. The fact should not be ignored, however, that Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey appointed elders in every Galatian city where they had founded a church, as the necessary first step in organization (Acts 14. 25). It should also be noted that not long afterward Paul exhorts the Thessalonians (1 Thess. 5. 13) to "esteem . . . exceeding highly in love for their work's sake" those who are "over

them in the Lord," and that nowhere in the Pastoral Epistles is to be found any statement so strong, concerning the esteem due to such officials. In fact, the whole conception of the office of church leader is quite primitive, informal, and practical; emphasis being exclusively laid upon those personal gifts—moral, intellectual, and spiritual—which in each community would determine what persons would as leaders wield the most influence for good. It is not too much to say that only without bias or prepossession can one discover in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus any signs of ecclesiastical development which could not have taken place in any Pauline church before the apostle's first imprisonment.

### 5. LINGUISTIC ANOMALIES

A notable number of words and several set phrases occur in the pastorals which are not found in the



earlier epistles. Out of the 897 words in the three epistles, some 171 words, or nearly one fifth, are not found elsewhere in the New Testament. This looks formidable. The Epistle to the Hebrews (covering seventeen pages to twelve of the pastorals) has fewer peculiar words. The Epistle of James in five chapters has fewer than First Timothy has in six. The Revelation in twenty-two chapters has only 156 novel words. Findlay has shown (Sabatier's *Paul the Apostle*), however, that this species of verbal versatility is quite characteristic of the acknowledged letters of Paul. Thus while in the two early Thessalonian epistles there appear *five* unique words to the chapter, Romans, belonging to the next chronological group, has *seven*; Colossians and Ephesians, later on, taken together have *eight*; Philippians, later still, no less than *ten*. So that one is quite prepared by this variety and copiousness of Paul's vocabulary for

the thirteen unique words to the chapter that appear in the pastorals. The remark of a modern physiologist concerning Gladstone when in his ninetieth year, that his brain never grew old, might fittingly apply to the brain of Paul the apostle. One so much alive as he, so responsive to new situations, so capable of finding language suited to every new kind of experience should not be thought of at any stage as furnished with only a closed and fixed vocabulary. If Xenophon, who in his roaming about the Greek world used new words in his later writings which do not occur in his earlier writings, would it be different with Paul the traveler? If the vocabulary of the Thessalonians, therefore, contains such reminiscent echoes of Paul's earliest missionary preaching in Macedonia as "wait for his Son from heaven," "the wrath to come," "the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout," "eternal

destruction from the face of the Lord," "and the man of sin be revealed"; and the Galatians and Romans sound such characteristic key-words of the Gentile apostle's life-and-death struggle with the Judaizing teachers as "justified by faith," "Christ is the end of the law," "neither circumcision is anything nor uncircumcision but a new creature," "crucified with Christ"; and the epistles of the first Roman imprisonment preserve such watchwords of the defense against the new attacks in Asia upon the sovereignty of Christ and his exclusive mediatorial office, as "fullness of the Godhead," "His body the church," "principalities and powers," "this mystery among the Gentiles which is Christ in you," "in whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden," can it be thought strange if the changing winds of heretical doctrine, which Paul predicts as certain to blow over the churches of Asia (Acts 20. 30) should call forth

fresh formulas, which as aptly met changed conditions of spiritual warfare, as had those verbal weapons, earlier forged by him? Who shall say that new exigencies of attack and defense would not demand new forms of expression, such as "faith unfeigned," "good conscience," "sound doctrine," "faithful is the saying," "made shipwreck concerning the faith," "the words of the faith," "strive not about words," "foolish and ignorant questions," "turn aside to fables," "maintain good works"? And can anyone who remembers how deeply all Asia had been shaken by the ministry of the apostle, and how even Paul himself "marveled" (Gal. 1. 6) at the swiftness with which false teaching invaded his Galatian churches, declare a space of three or four years too brief to require such strategic changes of terms and statements as those found in the pastoral epistles?

## THE SECOND-CENTURY "PAUL"

Biblical scholarship has confirmed the unprofessional reader of the Pauline epistles in his traditional confidence in the apostolic authorship of the first ten of the series, but in the case of the last three has as yet furnished him, in place of the great apostle himself, only a spectral, timid, and anonymous imitator, who, out of fragmentary, random and casual references, admitted to be reliable, but drawn from some unknown source, and relating to persons known and unknown, and to some places visited and others not previously visited by Paul, and, finally, to such incidental and trivial matters as a lost cloak, certain missing books and documents (2 Tim. 4. 13), the state of Timothy's digestion (1 Tim. 5. 23), and approaching inclement weather-conditions (2 Tim. 4. 21), has concocted three spurious epistles, each bearing the familiar apostolic

signature and countersign, his pious aim in thus using Paul's name and stray sentences from genuine letters of his, being that he may thereby the more sharply rebuke certain Gnostic heretics living at some place in the Roman empire at some time in the second century.

### THE HANDS OF ESAU?

While the hypercritical critic may insist that he finds second-century hairs on the hand that wrote the Pastoral Epistles, plain people who have wintered and summered with the Paul of the ten epistles, and who carry his manner of speech in their hearts as the blind patriarch Isaac carried that of his beloved son Jacob, will continue to say: "Nay, verily! The voice is the voice of Paul!"

It seems probable that for a considerable time to come those for whom the Scriptures possess more than a dilettante or professional interest, but

have to do with "business and bosom," will continue to find in the Pastoral Epistles the image and superscription of "Paul the aged," who, well aware that "the time of his departure is at hand," turns with strong yearning to those to whom he is about to transfer the unspeakably responsible trust hitherto committed to himself; whose heart burns still as of old against new enemies of the truth of the gospel intrusted to him, and whose characteristic instinct for organization and discipline is still a ruling passion as strong as it was in the beginning of the gospel in Galatia, Macedonia, and Achaia.

### THE PLAIN MAN'S CONCLUSION

The autograph sentence which Jesus stooped down and wrote in the dust was no doubt soon obliterated by the wind and the rain, but when he arose and spoke with his tongue what his finger had written, namely, "He

that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her! Woman, where are they? did no man condemn thee? Neither do I condemn thee: go thy way; from henceforth sin no more"—who does not discover that in those self-revealing words one has a more complete and satisfying proof of identity than one would have in any facsimile reproduction of his handwriting either in Aramaic or Greek (if such diplomatic evidence should ever be procurable), however exact and faithful such transcript of his autograph might be? What disciple of Jesus, however wanting in the technique of critical learning, on a first reading in any language in any Christian century, those "words of grace" spoken to the woman taken in adultery, would not unhesitatingly exclaim, as once the disciple did who had lain on his breast, "It is the Lord!"?

The German privatdocent, of course,



may be expected to go on diligently cultivating "historic doubts." It is a way he has for gaining notice and academic promotion. Not even Napoleon Bonaparte's existence as a real person, or Shakespeare's authorship of the works that go by his name is permanently secure from learned attacks. The Lomans, Stecks, and Van Manens will arise and learnedly and boldly declare that the so-called Pauline epistles were written, not by Paul, but by another man in the second century who took the name of Paul, with the same motive of "love to Paul" professed by that presbyter of Asia Minor who composed the spurious "Acts of Paul and Thecla," when he was arraigned and deposed for his attempted deception. It will continue to be the fashion in certain quarters to give ready assent, without due challenge and investigation, to views which, though not yet a generation old, are, nevertheless, quite as deserv-

ing of the reproachful epithet of "traditional" as any that have come down from the original recipients of Paul's epistles. So the great Harnack warns us both consciously by precept, and unconsciously by example.

Consciously, when he writes:

"It is well known how quickly hypotheses that are questionable and burdened with the greatest difficulties—such, for example, that Rom. 16 is a separate epistle, or part of an epistle, to Ephesus—have arrived at even unquestioned recognition" ("Acts," p. 291).

Unconsciously, when he writes: "Dagegen kann man in dem I. Timotheus brief auch nicht *einen Vers* nachweisen, der den Stempel paulinischer Herkunft deutlich truege" (*Chronologie*, I. p. 480). "Not a single verse in First Timothy can be pointed out which clearly bears the stamp of Pauline authorship." The plain man, however, less conversant

as he is with the curiosities and contemporary shibboleths of criticism, but more familiar at first-hand with Damascus-road experiences of his own; and those problems of the religious life of the individual and the church with which these epistles deal, will for a long time to come, like the countless multitude of his spiritual forbears of well-nigh two thousand years past, recognize in every one of the thirteen the tent-maker who wrote these words:

ὁ ἀσπασμὸς τῇ ἐμῇ χειρὶ Παύλου  
 ὁ ἐστὶν σημεῖον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ  
 οὕτως γράφω  
 ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
 μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν

THE SALUTATION OF ME PAUL  
 WITH MINE OWN HAND  
 WHICH IS THE TOKEN IN  
 EVERY EPISTLE  
 SO I WRITE  
 THE GRACE OF OUR LORD  
 JESUS CHRIST  
 BE WITH YOU ALL

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